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585 578 goat. Shillings must be given to induce her to enter the hut, to sit down, to accept water for washing her hands and food, to eat. Another ox is killed and the meat is divided as follows : the liver and the heart are for the bride's father, the leg for her mother, the *nyimba*, viz. the womb, which includes the ribs, sternum etc. for the maternal uncle. The women, when they return home, take all these pieces of meat to their several destinations. They put a skewer through the heart and liver and stick it into the ground before the bride's father's hut saying : " This is the notification of the husband's people. "

If the total number of the oxen has been remitted on the lobola day, *the departure of the new wife* for the husband's kraal (thloma) will not be long delayed. But should there be some oxen wanting, a wise father will not allow her to go until the whole lobolo has been paid. The husband works hard to get together the other oxen. He brings them, without ceremony, together with a sovereign, which he places before the bride's father as a present, saying : " This is my spitting for you, my father! " He does the same for the mother. He now feels the right to claim his wife. They answer : " Give us time to prepare her trousseau." The trousseau consists of two mats, two or three big spoons, some pots, a wooden platter, a pestle and a mortar, and one hoe provided by the maternal uncle, which make up all the equipment of a Nkuna bride. All her female relations meet and, after having exhorted (1) her to be obedient, to accept all the hardships she will find in her new home, they accompany her to her husband's village. This is the *hloma*. The men do not go, except the ntjumi of the bride's family. The father, on the morning before they leave, kills a fowl and *hahla*, viz. makes a sacrifice, telling his ancestors that his daughter goes to be married, and praying for her. The ntjumi,

585 562 593 (1) " Hear! " the old women say to the bride, " you have been a good girl, so far, henceforth you will be treated as a slave! You will be accused of adultery and of witchcraft. You will have no more happiness. But accept all that! They will beat you, kill you and we shall not be able to deliver you, because we have eaten their oxen. " These exhortations are worth reproducing, as they show clearly the conditions under which the girl goes to her husband. She is not protected by the lobolo. On the contrary, the lobolo has made her the possession of the husband's family, from whom she must now accept any treatment. (See Part II).

765 wizard (a clever man who could overcome death). In what has
782 your witchcraft resulted ? Are you not dead! You have left us in peace. Go to Tlotlomane ; let Tlotlomane go to X ; let X go to Y, etc. (He utters the names of the ancestors.) Call each other to come here and look. Are we not gathered together ? Here is so and so. The batukulu also are here. Accept this offering and may we live peacefully together ; visit each other (Annotatio 11)[1]. Even if they do not come to pay me visits, let them come to Fenis ; he is their father now. And you, Mugwanu, you remain at the head of the village. You are their headman now. Do not scatter your people. Cultivate good relations with each other."

765 But a woman suddenly stands up and interrupts him : "Bring
543 everything to the light," she says! The old priest stops. She
578 goes on : "They say I am a Muchopi" (a woman of dissolute manners). The mikulungwane are heard on all sides. It is a family drama which we are attending! This woman is the daughter of the deceased ; Manyibane has sold her to pay off his debts ; he has not kept the lobola money to buy a wife for one of her brothers ; that is the reason why they hate her. They do not receive her in the village. She pours out her grievances before them in this family gathering, when they are praying to their ancestors. It is the favourable time! She goes on : "Is it my fault ? Did I not obey our father ? I have not fled away. Now what am I to do ? He alone received me here! You despise me. Say everything! Do not hide it!"

Her interruption has lasted five minutes at least and she goes back to her place very angry. Sometimes relatives who have serious complaints to make against their kinsfolk choose this precise moment to vent their anger and leave the gathering with violent words. In such a case, it is said : "The mourning has overcome this family."

765 The old priest is a little disconcerted. He speaks at random,
782 always calling his Tlotlomane. The whole scene is perfectly natural, but the participants do not show the slightest religious awe. Suddenly one of the batukulu rises, takes a bottle of wine which has been also brought there as an offering, pours a

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1[See p. 518 in these categories or in vol. Analyst]

Nubile girls, during their "tiweti," must approach the *oxen kraal* and look at them. The cattle might suffer, be attacked by a bad cough (mukhulwane), get thin! This taboo is instituted to protect the oxen, not the human inhabitants of the village, as D. Kidd says is the case amongst the Zulus. (Part IV. Ch. I. E.) When women have passed the time of child-bearing, most of the taboos cease, and they can eat monkeys and porcupine if they wish!

3) The first year of married life.

I shall not return to the subject of marriage rites, which have been fully explained in the preceding chapter. Let me say that, though a Thonga woman cannot imagine life without marriage (ku kandja bukati), she does not enter on the new state with any enthusiasm. Her parents have warned her that she will be illtreated, accused of witchcraft and adultery, etc. Her sisters bewail her fate on her wedding day in song. The fact that she has been paid for, though it does not constitute an actual sale, puts her in an inferior position (See Part II).

During the first year, she has no *ndangu*, viz. no fire-place of her own. She cooks for her mother-in-law. During the three first weeks the husband eats with her and with the girl who accompanied her to her new home. Afterwards, he goes back to eat with the men. In some places it would seem that the husband eats with her the whole year, until she has her own pot (hlembeto).

4) Husband and wife.

What are the relations between husband and wife after the honey-moon? Of course they vary very much according to the character of both. As a rule however, the married people have very little intimacy with each other; the man remains with his companions on the "bandla," the village square where they meet, and only occasionally comes into the "ndangu," the reed enclosure of the fire-place, which is the true domain of the

602 that these appellations are expressive of many different things, one of the main considerations dictating them being the right of a man to marry his wife's relatives, or to inherit the women belonging to his own family.

I. *Blood relationships.*

601 The general term to indicate this relationship is *bushaka* (from *shaka*, *mashaka*), relatives.

1) Relatives on the father's side.

(Bakweru : *ba*, those, *ku*, at, *eru* possessive pronoun of the first person plur. means those *with us*, in our home.)

Let us first consult Tobane, called Tobane II in the genealogy.
601 He calls Magugu his father, *tatana*. The relation implies
593 respect and even fear. The father, though he does not take much
611 trouble with his children, is nevertheless their instructor, the one who scolds and punishes. Absolute obedience is due to him on the part of his sons and daughters (App. V). So also in the case of the *father's brothers*, who are also called "batatana ba shirare :" the elder brother who is a "great father" to Tobane, and the younger
601 brother Nkale, "tatana lwe'ntjongo", a "little father." Their
611 wives, Matshini for instance, are mothers to him, though he can in certain cases marry them by inheritance. The cousins of the father are also fathers (Muhambi to Thakusa, for instance, Gen.. B.), provided the father calls them brothers.

There is another term for father, *rara* in Djonga, *roro* in Ronga ; roro is only employed with the possessive pronoun in the three following forms : rorwa'nga, my father, rorwa'ku, your father, rorwa'bu, their father. The correlative of tatana is *ñwana*, son or daughter.

Tobane II calls Shitsimbo *kokwana*, grandfather, Tobane I kokwane wa tatana, grandfather of father, and Nkwangana kokwana wa kokwana, grandfather of grandfather. The expression

601 reciprocal, means brothers as well as sisters. If he wishes to specify, he adds to makwabu : "of the assagai," or "of the basket." It is never employed except when united with the possessive pronoun : *makweru* means my brother, *makwenu* your brother, *makwabu*, his brother or sister. The elder brother is called *nhondjwa* (plur. tinhondjwa). The nhondjwa is also called *hosi* (plur. tihosi) chief. The hierarchy of age is very strictly observed amongst the Thongas. The elder brother is treated with great respect and gives orders to his younger brothers with almost the same authority as the father. It must be noticed also that the position of elder brother is not only a matter of age, but, in the polygamic family, all the children of a first wife, or of the first house, are *tihosi* to the children of secondary or posterior wives or houses, though they may have been born after them. They take precedence of them. Amongst girls, an elder sister is often called *mamana*, mother, whilst an elder brother is never a tatana (father) but a hosi (chief).

601 593 595

601 The term *makwabu* is applied to all my first and second cousins who have the same paternal grandfather, or great-grandfather, as I have. Cousins on my mother's side are also bamakwabu, some of them at least, those who are my maternal aunt's children. But cousins on the father's side are more fully bamakwabu than those on the mother's side : Muhambi is more so to Hlangabeza than to Mahlobo, because the two former belong to the same shibongo, family name ; they are men of the Makaneta clan and Muhambi could therefore inherit Hlangabeza's wives ; Muhambi and Mahlobo are not of the same clan, and could not inherit from each other. From this fact we begin to see that the laws of inheritance, and especially the laws of the distribution of the widows amongst the family which has bought them, are closely connected with the system of relationship.

601 428 605

601 The man who has married my wife's sister is also a makwabu to me, a nhondjwa if he has married her elder sister (Phayindi to Mboza), a ndjisana if the younger (Magwazizen to Mboza). The brothers of Phayindi and Magwazizen are also called brothers by Mboza.

There is a special term in the Northern clans to indicate the

There is a special term in the Northern clans to indicate the relationship of two men who have married two sisters born of the same mother. They are called : bamakwabu ba shinauma, an expression which is the simplification of the following sentence : shi na wuñwe mamana, i. e. there is only one mother. This term seems to have been borrowed from the Pedis.

2) Relatives on the mother's side.

Tobane II calls Mishikombo *mamana*, mother. She is his true mamana and this relation is very deep and tender, combining respect and love. Love however generally exceeds respect. The proper word for tenderness is *timpsalu*, which comes from *psala*, to beget, and the mother is often called *mpsele* (a term which is applied also to the female of all animals). It is the word which answers best to the feelings of a mother for her children. She is generally weak with them and is often accused by the father of spoiling them.

The mother's sisters are *bamamana* in the second degree, because, if the true mother dies, one of them will probably take care of the children. Their husbands are *batatana* : Phayindi is tatana to Madonge and Muhambi. He calls them *bana*, children. Mboza is also a tatana to Mahlobo and Mathamba, being a makwabu, brother of their father, owing to the fact that he and Phayindi have married sisters.

All the co-wives are also *bamamana*, mothers by polygamy, (Ñwashihoni and Mishihari to Tobane). They are *bamamana ba shitshengwe*, harem mothers. I respect them but they are further from me than my mother's sisters. A more familiar term for mother, corresponding to roro, father, is *ñwa*, a word always used with the possessive pronoun and only in the second and third person : ñwaku, your mother, ñwakwe, his mother. Ñwaku is employed in certain insults and oaths, and is to be avoided as being vituperative.

Many other women are mamana : the wife of my paternal uncle (Magugu for Muhambi), though I can inherit her in certain cases ; the daughter of my maternal uncle, because she is the

601 potential wife of my father (Shaputa to Misaben), not to mention those women of my wife's family who can be so called. An elder sister is also mamana to her younger sister, and sometimes a husband calls his wife mamana (1).

If the mother's sister is a mother, the mother's brother is by no means a father. He is called *malume* or *kokwana*, and here we meet with one of the most characteristic features of the Thonga, and even Bantu, system of relationship. The term kokwana means first the paternal grandfather and all the ancestors on the father's side, and this is its proper essential meaning. The bakokwana are also all my mother's male relatives : her brothers, fathers, uncles, etc. They form a group which I call "ka bakokwana" which means "my mother's home," just as *kweru* means my father's home, my official home. Kweru comes first ; ka bakokwana next. "The bushaka on the father's side is the head ; on the mother's side, only the legs" (Mboza). 593 602 [591] Let us remember that a child lives at his father's home and only goes on a visit to his mother's village. He may stay there for years after the weaning, but if he chose to settle there, he would be made fun of and severely censured by his father and his paternal uncles. "You are stupid," they would say, "you leave your own village, you go to the village of your bakokwana to increase it! This is true folly. Has not your mother been bought with money? The children she bore belong to your father, just like the calves of his cows." (Mboza.) But if the home of the mother cannot become the home of the children, the relations they maintain with

601 576 (1) The term mamana is frequently used by an interlocutor, without any idea of relationship, when speaking to married women of a more advanced age than himself. Such an extented meaning is also frequent with tatana, kokwana, ñwana. Any man older than I am can be addressed by me as tatana and will answer by calling me ñwana. If the difference of age is greater, we shall treat each other as kokwana and ntukulu. Speaking in the third person a child will always put tatana before the name of any grown up man, though he belong to a totally different clan. Women round Lourence Marques often call a White man nkata, husband. This shows that kinship terms are employed as expressing moral relations as well as blood or family relations, and we must not draw hasty conclusions from the way in which these terms are applied, or necessarily see in them the traces of a previous social state in which every grown up man or woman was looked on as a true father or mother. The Thongas may give to these terms an extended meaning. Nevertheless they differentiate perfectly between their technical and their derived sense.

602 593 their bakokwana are of a much freer, more agreeable and kindlier nature than those with their father's relatives.

Amongst the Thongas of the North the maternal grandfather and the maternal uncles are called indiscriminately kokwana. The Ronga dialect makes a distinction between kokwana, maternal grandfather, and malume, mother's brother; but the malume is often 601 called kokwana. In the Northern clans the *uterine nephews*, viz. the sons of my sister, are always called *ntukulu*, which is the term corresponding to kokwana, as we have seen; amongst the Ba-Ronga, they bear a special name, *mupsyana*, which seems to be becoming obsolete, being often replaced by ntukulu (1).

Let us consider these various relatives on the mother's side. 603 The maternal grandfather is the great, the true kokwana. He is respected for his age. He is however more lenient to his grandson by his daughter than to his grandson by his son. If the first damages anything, he will say: "That is no business of mine. Let the father of the child scold him, as he does harm to his property. I have nothing to do with their affairs. It is not my village." But if it were his grandson by his son, it would be a totally different matter, and he would be hard on him. However, should a child take too great a liberty with his kokwana, the old man will say to him: "Go and play with your malume." 604 The malume, indeed, for his uterine nephew, is quite different from any other relative. No respect at all is necessary towards him! "You go to *bombela* in his village; you do what you please. You take all the food you want without asking permission. If you are ill, he will take special care of you and will sacrifice for you" (Viguet). In the Ronga dialect this bombela is called *nyenyela*. When the mupsyana goes to his maternal uncle, accompanied by his comrades who scent a good meal, the wives of the malume call to him: "Come along, husband (nkata)! Look here, your malume has hidden some food in the back part of the hut (mfungwe), behind the large basket (ngula). Go and take it." The boy steals the food, runs away with it and eats it up to the last morsel

(1) This is one of many proofs that the Ronga clans have preserved some old customs better than their Northern compatriots. Their language also possesses certain archaic features which are wanting in the Northern dialects.

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601 stretch them out. I must leave Zulu linguists to decide if it is really the same root. If so, the etymological idea would be that of a person worn out and paralyzed by old age.

The only explanation that I can give of the common use of the terms kokwana-ntukulu for both relations is this. Both the paternal grandparents and the mother's relatives are similar in their dealings with a child in the fact that they are more lenient towards him than his father. The two grandmothers are equally kind to him. The maternal grandfather is more lenient than the paternal grandfather ; but, according to the explanation given above, it is because the latter belongs to the same family (shibongo) as his grandchild and may be called on to scold him if his conduct is prejudicial to the interests of their common village, whilst the maternal grandfather does not worry himself if the child damages the property or the good reputation of his parents. It is not his business.

The malume is the most indulgent of all. We shall see how this fact can be explained by the matriarchy hypothesis.

Another connotation of these two terms, when applied to social groups, i. e. to two different families, is this. The bakokwana are those from whose family the batukulu have the right of taking their wives. As we shall see, this meaning is much more marked in the category of tribes which belong to the Pedi-Venda group than amongst the Thongas and other tribes of the same category.

II. *Relations with parents-in-law.*

1) Relationship on the Wife's side.

a) General characteristics.

606 593 Once, when speaking on this subject, old Viguet told me solemnly : "By your betrothal, as soon as you have been accepted, you enter into a new kind of respect and must remain in it till your death." This relationship is called *bukonwana*, a word that is generally pronounced with a peculiar feeling of uneasiness. Why is this? On account of the relations of husband and wife. Mboza calls

606 593 Nsabula *nsati* (a term corresponding to *nuna*, husband) or *nkata*, a reciprocal term, or *nkosikazi*, a Zulu word which means queen, or *ntjibeli*, cook, even *mamana*. I have already described the moral relation which the word nsati implies : no very great tenderness, not much intimacy, but a certain amount of love mingled with respect, and even fear, because a wife can get her husband into endless trouble if she begins to quarrel and runs home ; then all the bukoñwana relations will be spoilt by interminable discussions.

The word bukoñwana is composed of three elements : the root *ko*, which is an ancient Bantu root, found also in Zulu-Xosa (kwe), in Sutho (hoe) and Pedi (ɣwe). Its meaning is etymologically unknown. To it is added a suffix, *ñwana*, and a prefix *bu*. The prefix bu has a double meaning ; the meaning of abstraction (and then bukoñwana indicates the relationship between a man and his relatives-in-law) and the meaning of place (when bukoñwana indicates the village where relatives-in-law dwell). They say, employing this word in the locative case : To go bukoñwanen, or in an abbreviated form : bukwen.

601 607 I have been fortunate enough to obtain from Mboza the full nomenclature of his wife's relatives. It so happens that the Gogwe family is extraordinarily complete. Nsabula has both an elder brother and elder sister, a younger brother and a younger sister. Owing to this, I have been able to study all the possible kinds of relationship of Mboza with his wife's relatives.

The terms used to express these kinds of relationship fall into two categories, which present a striking contrast. On the one hand a man, when he goes to his wife's village, meets with the persons he fears most in the world : these are his *bakoñwana*, properly speaking ; on the other hand he finds there the women towards whom he behaves with the greatest liberty ; these are the *tinamu*. Describing these two sets of relatives-in-law, one of my informants said : "Bakoñwana are those persons who produce wives for you ; tinamu are those persons who produce children for you, because they are your presumptive wives. Even if you do not marry them, their children will call you father."

Let us study these two categories in detail.

607 his younger brother's wives (bengi) and play with those of his elder
835 brothers (tinamu). Why tis here this difference ? Because, as
we saw, the wife of an elder brother is a possible wife for all
393 his younger brothers, as they have the right of inheriting
582 her, should this man die. On the contrary, an elder brother inherits his younger brother's wife only under quite exceptional circumstances. One does not marry a ñwingi! This would be an insult to one's wife. Nsabula would leave Mboza if Mboza were to marry Magugu, Komatane's wife, because they have been accustomed to call each other ñwingi.

607 To a wife, her husband's elder sister is also a ñwingi (Ndjibari to Nsabula). The husband's younger sister is a namu or *nhombe*, and two tinhombe have very free relations, just as in the case of the tinamu. This freedom exists between female tinamu as well as between tinamu of different sexes.

606 There is a final term to be mentioned : *bakhoti* or *bakhoti-kulobye*, in Ronga, *basevele* in Djonga, a reciprocal term by which the parents of a husband and wife call each other.

593 How far is a woman incorporated in her husband's family ?
769 She belongs to it till her death, provided the lobolo oxen have been paid, but she does not accept the ancestor-gods of her parents-in-law as being her gods. She keeps her own gods, and prayers are frequently addressed to them by her father or by her brothers in favour of her children. In this respect Thongas differ widely from the old Aryan peoples, where a woman had to adopt the religion of her husband's clan when she married.

* * *

606 Before leaving the subject of relations with parents-in-law, and in order to show to what extent the uneasiness and fear which characterises them are carried, I will briefly mention the taboos of the bukoñwana, which play such a great part in Bantu family life. Let me say that most of these taboos (psiyilayilana, small prohibitions), are not so severe as those connected with sexual relations, disease and death. It is not believed that a breach of

000 These marriage regulations show us plainly how the family is constituted amongst the Thongas. A glimpse at the system of relationship of the primitive tribes will help us to understand something more of the strange features of this family law.

D. REMNANTS OF PREVIOUS SYSTEMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

582 Modern ethnographers have tried to ascertain how the human family has evolved through the ages, and this is, roughly speaking, the theory adopted by some of them. The first stage was marked by universal promiscuity; there was no family. Then, in a second period, restriction began to be enforced as regards marriage. Definite groups formed; all the women of one group were the regular wives of all the men of another group. This system still prevails in some Australian tribes. It is called *group marriage*. In a third phase, the family constituted itself round the mother. She was the owner of the children, who traced their descent through her and her female ancestors. In this form, which is called the *uterine family*, or matriarchy, the mother's brothers bore a special relation to the children: the father being hardly known or without authority, these male relatives of the mother had to defend the offspring of their sisters. In the end, the uterine family passed into the *patriarchal or agnatic family*. The father became the head, and descent was traced through the males. The development of property seems to have favoured this last evolution. The husband, who owned the property, became the master of the family, and he therefore took his wife to himself and made a home. (Compare p. 122.)

593/582 Whatever may be the truth of this theory, we must recognise the fact that the Thongas have now reached this fourth stage. The family is definitely agnatic. The father's right is paramount. However, there are in this family system some features which appear to be a relic of former periods.

604 womb, the uterus ; this consists not only of that organ, but of the
585 whole belly, from the sternum to the hind legs ; the bride's mother eats the *mbata* and *khondjo*, viz. the extremity of the spine (Mboza).

585 On the day of hlomisa, when the bride is led to her husband's
431 village, her maternal relatives receive a special gift, a young cow called *mubya wa mana wa yena*, i. e. the skin in which her mother carried her on her shoulders when she was a baby. This cow will be sent to the family when the first and the third daughter marry. In the case of a second and fourth girl, the nyimba alone is sent.

585 In the *equipment of the bride*, the mother's relatives provide
604 her with a hoe, with fat to anoint her body, with a mat and clothing and sometimes with bracelets. The paternal aunt (hahana) does not give anything, neither does the paternal uncle, the latter only helping the father occasionally. Should the mother's relatives not fulfil this duty of providing part of the trousseau, next time they will not be given the *nyimba* to which they were entitled (Viguet).

593 But the most characteristic prerogative of the bamalume or
603 bakokwana, is *their special right of intercession* on behalf of the
604 uterine nephews. In fact, as Mankhelu said in his picturesque language, "as regards sacrifices (timhamba), the mother's relatives mostly perform them. They are the stem. My father is the stem as regards the oxen, but my mother is the true stem ; she is the god ; she makes me grow. Should she die when I am an infant, I shall not live. The village of my mother is as the home of the gods (ka mamana hi ko psikwembyen)." Simeon Gana added : "We have the special charge of sacrificing for our batukulu ; our sons also are priests to them, and can officiate in our place, even should they be younger than our batukulu. That is the reason why we do not marry them. We are their elders (bakulu)." Of course the bones will always be consulted and they will tell if a sacrifice must be offered to the gods of the mother or to those of the father, but a kokwane will preferably be called upon to sacrifice for a sick child. (See Part VI. Chap. II, II.)

604 In the ceremonies following death, especially in the feast of
611 the mourning beer (page 164), the malume will be the officiating person and squeeze the *psanyi* over his batukulu to cleanse them.

A last right possessed by the malume is that *of raising his village*

583 177 the new conditions, especially when a stay of a year or two in Johannesburg was long enough to save the necessary sum. Boys who had no sister, and who would have been destitute in former times, could then dream of a *tshenwge* viz., of marrying three or four wives! And they had this advantage that, their wives not having been bought with family property (their sister's oxen), no bakoñwana could disturb them in their domestic happiness, as may happen to those who marry by means of the first-mentioned lobolo.

This leads us to consider :

583 ## II. *The original meaning and the consequences of the lobola.*

As we have said previously, the only way of understanding the lobola, as well as other similar payments in kind which we meet with amongst a great number of uncivilized or half civilized nations, (1) is to consider it as *a compensation given by one group to another group*, in order to restore the equilibrium between the various collective units composing the clan. The first group acquires a new member : the second feels itself diminished, and claims something which permits it to reconstitute itself, in its turn, by the acquisition of another woman. This collectivist conception alone explains all the facts.

583 562 593 618 In this way, the acquired wife, though she keeps her shibongo (clan name), becomes the property of the first group. She is aggregated to it by complicated marriage ceremonies, representing the passage from one family to another. She is owned by the new family, herself and the children who will be born of her. She is not in any way a slave, but she is nevertheless owned. She is not the individual property of one man, but the collective property of a group. Hence the following facts :

1) Her whole family take part in the marriage ceremonies, especially on the day when the lobola is brought by the bridegroom

(1) See A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, p. 170. The *Kalym* of the Turko-Mongolians, the *Nyen* of Southern Thibet, etc., correspond to the Bantu lobola.

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583 (See page 109). Every male member of the group has his say in
835 the matter.
593 2) Brothers will always be ready to help a poor relative to
618 lobola : they work for their group.

3) The acquired wife is their presumptive spouse, though they cannot have sexual relations with her (matlulana). They will inherit her if the husband dies, according to the laws which I have explained in the preceding paragraphs.

583 4) Children will belong to the father, live with him, bear his
593 shibongo (family name), and owe him obedience : boys will
611 strengthen this group, girls will be lobota (factitive of lobola—
618 sold in marriage) for his profit. Father-right rests on the lobola. This is so plain that any child born of a woman who has not been paid for belongs to the mother's family, bears her shibongo name and will live in the malume's village. In Appendix VII, I relate the story of Spoon Libombo as an instance of this primordial law. This is the reason why, when the question is discussed, men insist so much on the preservation of the lobola. They say : "Who will guarantee us the possession of our children if lobola is suppressed ?"

So the lobola is by no means a purchase made by the husband, and still less a present given to the wife's parents.

1) Advantages of the lobola custom.

583 In the primitive collective stage of society the custom has
593 certainly *great advantages* : 1) It strengthens the family, I mean
586 the patriarchal family, the right of the father. 2) It marks the difference between a legitimate and an illegitimate marriage and, in this sense, takes the place of an official marriage register. 3) It puts hindrances in the way of dissolving the matrimonial union, as a wife cannot definitely leave her husband without her group returning the lobola. Therefore it obliges the married pair to have a certain regard one for the other.

However, these advantages must not be exaggerated. Marriages

583 586 562 593 concluded on the lobola basis, are frequently dissolved (1). The tie being purely material, it is easy to sever it. When the husband "bitana tihomu," claims his oxen, who could refuse to return them ? It is certainly erroneous to say that the lobola is a contract made between two families in order to guarantee the good treatment of the wife by her husband and vice versa, to prevent the husband beating his wife or the wife deserting the conjugal home from mere caprice. It has even been asserted that this sum of money was a pledge, a security, claimed by the wife's parents for the protection of their daughter! There is nothing of the kind in this institution. The exhortations addressed to the bride on the day of her *hloma* (page 118) prove clearly enough that, on the contrary, owing to the lobola, the husband has every right over her, and that she has no right to protest if he uses or abuses this right.

2) Bad consequences of the lobola custom.

583 562 1) And this is the first *regrettable consequence of the lobolo* : the woman is undoubtedly reduced to an *inferior position* by the fact that she has been lobola. *a)* This appears clearly in the fact that, though she is not looked upon exactly as a head of cattle, a marriageable girl is in principle entirely at the mercy of her family as regards the choice of her husband. In the same way a widow to be inherited is in the hands of her deceased husband's family.

586 548 (1) I will give only one example which I witnessed amongst my neighbours and which shows that, with women of loose character, at any rate, the payment of lobolo helps very little to strengthen the matrimonial tie. A girl named Hlapfuta, daughter of Bandi, married a first husband. The "bukosi" (name commonly given to the lobolo money) was used to procure a wife for her brother. But she left her husband and was married by Nwamusi. This second husband paid the lobolo, which was then returned to the first. But Hlapfuta ran away a second time and joined a man called Matshubele. She did the same thing five consecutive times, and finally she moved to Majlangalen, to the suburbs of Lourenzo Marques, the favourite quarter of the prostitutes. There she was lost, and the "bukosi" also. Her paternal uncle, who had been put to any amount of trouble to recover the "bukosi" in order to give it back to the five abandoned husbands, seeing that it would be impossible to satisfy the last, could no longer bear the strain and committed suicide by hanging himself from a tree not far from my house in Rikatla. The debt remained with the girl's brother who "had eaten the bukosi."

583 562 593 Men are often better than their principles, and we have seen in the study of marriage and inheritance customs that the consent of a girl, and of a widow, is generally asked before any decision takes place. This is done as long as the male masters of the woman have no special interest in the choice. But should they have reason to impose a certain husband upon her, they will not hesitate to force her to accept him; a young girl will be given up to a dirty old man, for whom she has no liking, on account of a lobola debt of twenty years standing! The lobola hardens the heart and the woman is unable to defend herself. She can always run away. But where will she hide, if all her relatives agree on her being sacrificed to the interest of the family? Or she can threaten to commit suicide, and she occasionally does so. *b)* She must work for her husband, who gives her very little in return. It is true that she is not a *slave*. She is however *owned*. *c)* This is partly the cause of the shocking difference established between a husband and his wife. The married woman is henceforth absolutely prohibited from adulterous relations — which is a very admirable provision — but her husband is quite free in this respect: he has not been bought. 593 562 586 *d)* As regards her children, whatever may be her love for them, she does not in fact possess them. They belong to the father. If divorce takes place and the lobolo is not returned to the husband, he keeps them and the mother will be separated from them for ever (1).

583 606 578 2) A second series of consequences arising from this custom are the *strained relations* between the two contracting groups. We have sufficiently insisted on this subject. What makes dealings with parents-in-law so difficult? It is the lobolo, the sum of money which has perhaps not been Fully paid, and

(1) The Rev. H. Dieterlen, of Basutoland, in a paper on the lobola, wrote the following words, which apply to the Thonga as well as to the Ba-Suto: "A woman married under lobola bears children but possesses none. The children belong to those who gave the cattle. Whatever may be her own merits, she can see her children pass into the hands of the rawest heathen and be given over to the cupidity of rapacious and rascally relatives. She can be liberated, driven away, abandoned, repudiated; she will have to live without children; she will resemble a woman who has never had any. She is not supposed to have the heart and the feelings of a mother. And her children are treated as if they had no filial affection."

524 keep serious and not laugh. Should they be unable to keep their countenances, their victory is lost!

538 But these games are only a preliminary. The farther we go, the nearer we get to true literature! Now they ask each other *riddles (paitekatekisa)*, simple and antiphonic. We shall study this form of folklore later on... If the second side is unable to give the right answer to the riddle, it asks permission to propose one in its turn and so the intellectual combat goes on until they have exhausted the series of riddles they know. Those who have had the worst of the duel must pay the forfeit by *telling tales (tha paiketana)*. A woman may be present who is a renowned story-teller and she holds the whole company under the charm of her tale for half an hour, perhaps longer... Children shudder when they hear the terrible story of the bogey man! They burst into laughter when she describes the funny tricks of the Hare, or of the frog *Shinana*. They heartily approve when the younger brother, despised by his elders, becomes their saviour and teaches them a good lesson... Thonga folk-lore is very rich; it is one of the most interesting manifestations of the psychic life of the tribe. We shall study it with the attention it deserves in Part V of this work. Here it is sufficient to show what a great and happy part it plays in the life of the village.

E. RULES OF POLITENESS AND HOSPITALITY.

576 The village life is dominated by the *respect for hierarchy*. I do 769 not think this term is exaggerated. Etymologically hierarchy 573 conveys not only a moral but a religious idea. This religious feeling is not absent in the fear felt by a younger brother for his elder, because the elder member of the family is its priest, the only possible intermediary between the family and its gods (See Part VI). So no wonder if, in their relations with each other, though these are extremely free and natural, Natives follow strict rules of etiquette.

832 576 593 152 572 Even a husband never kissed his wife. On coming back from a journey, a man would hardly greet his wife; she would see him passing through the village, prepare food for him, and when it was cooked, she would come and salute him by presenting it to him. But if he has a good friend in the village, and if this friend sees him coming back after a long absence, their meeting will be much more touching. The friend will go to the main entrance of the village, exclaim: "Ha-Ha," take his parcel from his hands, put his arms round his shoulders (a ku mu buso hi mandla), remove the perspiration from his face, and pat him gently, saying: "Your ancestor-gods have their eyes open! They have worked well! They have brought you back."

574 609 622 *Hospitality.* When strangers enter a village, men sit on the *bandla*, and women go further on and sit on the *hubo*; they remain quietly there till the people of the village come and salute them (losa). Should the inhabitants delay too long, the visitors move on, saying: "These people are not good." But this is very rare. Generally the master of the village comes to them, inquiring who they are, whence they come, where they are going, and asks them: "Do you wish to spend the night here?" If they say: "Yes," the headman will empty one of his huts by putting two of his wives together, and will himself sleep with the visitors. Should there still be food, he will give them some. If not, he says: 574 609 622 203 195 "*Ndlala*!" "Starvation!" After a little while, a mat is unrolled and the official ceremony of "djungulisana" takes place. This is a very amusing custom. The headman sits together with his hosts and enquires about the news of their home. One of the visitors begins in a monotonous tone and pours forth volubly a flow of words with a peculiar cadence and almost without taking breath. His interlocutor interrupts him after each sentence, with "Ahina, hina," that is to say "Indeed, indeed!" till the whole skein is unwound; the two men finish with a longer "*Hina*," the inhabitants of the hut adding an emphatic "*khani*," a heartfelt "thank you;" then the master of the village begins to relate his own news in the same tone. It is impossible to 574 609 imagine anything more curious than this "mélopée" in two parts. This law of hospitality is general all over the tribe. Should

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

APPENDIX V (See p. 226)

593 858 177 797 As an example of *the absolute obedience due to the father*, I may quote the testimony of the Rev. Calvin Maphophe, one of the Native ministers of the Swiss Mission, now living in Lourenço Marques. It illustrates vividly the painful conflict which takes place in the heart of a Bantu boy when he is faced with the dilemma of either obeying a heathen father who forbids him to become a Christian, or going against the paternal will and joining the Church.

One day one of the little shepherds belonging to Maphophe's village in the Spelonken brought to his comrades an astonishing piece of news. He had gone to the missionary station and heard a white man say that there is a God in heaven and that this God created all things. His words were received with absolute incredulity by the company of [723] boys herding the goats; they answered: "It is an impossibility! Do we not know that the first man and woman came out of a reed?" However young Matsivi (this was the name of Calvin Maphophe) and his brother Shihosi wished to set their minds at rest about the matter and they began to attend the service on Sundays. They were so struck by the message heard in the little church that they decided to learn more of this extraordinary teaching of the White people, and every Sunday they went to the Station. One of the men of the tribe informed their father that they were assiduous attendants at the Christian services. Maphophe called together all the men of his village and summoned the two boys before this tribunal. Pointing his finger at them he said: "These boys have dared to go to the White people and hear things which are dangerous to us. We do not wish them to become insane! Take it to heart both of you. It is over. Henceforth you must never go again to the village of the Whites. If you disobey, you will be beaten."

The two boys were terribly moved by their father's words. It is a recognised principle in the Bantu tribe that a child who wishes to do right must obey his father, and they were anxious to behave well... But the attraction they felt for the new teaching was too great. They solved the problem by running away from their home. This is not the place to tell the end of the story. It may be found in a little pamphlet "Le Pasteur Calvin Mapopé" published by the headquarters of the Swiss Romande Mission (2, Chemin des Cèdres, Lausanne).

782 previously selected, and throws it on the boy's luggage. The
783 victim leaps about (phuphumela) in its agony. The officiant then
484 plucks out some of the bloodstained feathers, pronounces the tsu, and says :

> Here is your son. He has returned home safely, because you have accompanied him! Perhaps he has brought back pounds sterling with him to lobola. Perhaps he will now take a wife! I do not know. The great thing is that he is healthy, and you have brought him back safely.

782 578 593 *The Offering of Reconciliation.* One of the most curious of the religious acts performed in connection with the family is called *ku hahlela madjieta*, viz., to perform a sacramental act in connection with the madjieta. *Djieta* (dji-ma) means a *rash oath*, or an oath *with imprecation*. If two brothers quarrel, and the younger believing himself to be the injured one, breaks off all connection with his brother, he may say to the latter in his anger : "Never will I speak to you again, or come any more to your village!" This is a djieta. To give greater weight to the imprecation, the angry brother will put his nail beneath one of his incisor teeth, push it from within outwards and say : "U ta kota u *ñwoo* psi nga yentshekanga!" This probably means : "May you die if this does not happen," viz. if I do not keep my oath. Or he will pinch up the skin below his eye, and pull it out, saying : "U ta kota wao *hum*!" (Same meaning). The two men may remain for years without the slightest intercourse with each other. But if a serious disease should break out in the village of the younger, and the bones order him to make an offering, he is at once in a difficulty. He has no right to present it himself, for, according to the great law of priesthood in ancestrolatry, it is his elder brother who must do it for him. The bones, on being again consulted, give the response : — "There is something in the way. You two have tied a knot. Untie it first, then offer the sacrifice." The younger brother will then go to the elder, and say : "I have sinned in swearing that I would never come again to your village. Let us hahlela djieta, i. e., accomplish the sacrificial act, which will

cancel the rash oath (1). The elder will scold him severely, but will eventually accept his excuses. This meeting for confession and reconciliation is called ku hahlela madjieta, even if no other act, no *tsu*, or prayer, is performed. — The reconciliation may, however, be celebrated in a more solemn manner by a ceremony, which is attended by the elder members of the family. The brother who pronounced the imprecation prepares a decoction of a special herb, called mudahomu, and pours it into a sala shell. Everyone assembles on the square, and the two former enemies sit in the midst, on the bare ground. The offender raises the shell to his lips, sips the decoction, spits it out with the customary tsu, and says : "This is our djieta. We pronounced it, because our hearts were bitter. To-day it must come to an end. It is right that we make peace." The other brother, the offended one, then takes the shell, and after going through the same rite of the tsu, says : "I was justly angry, because it was he who first offended me! But let it be ended to-day ; let us eat out of the same spoon, drink out of the same cup, and be friends again." Then he breaks the shell, and they drink and enjoy themselves together.

In the Northern clans this offering is called *byalwa bya huwa, the beer of noise* (on account of the noise made by those who quarelled). It is considered as necessary, not only to reconcile the estranged brothers, but as a protection against wizards. Wizards might be encouraged to bewitch these men, thinking that, if one of them met with misfortune, people would say that his brother had cast a spell over him ; the wizards would then have an opportunity of killing him without fear of being discovered! The offering consists of *many sorts of cereals*, mealies, millet, sorgho taken from the granaries of all those who have fought ; two handfuls of the

(1) See also my article on "The Sacrifice of Reconciliation" amongst the Ba-Ronga (*South African Journal of Science*, February 1911). The djieta is any rash oath, and not only one pronounced against a brother. If a man swears that he will never enter a pool again (because he has been stung), or a river (because he has been followed by a crocodile), it is likewise a *djieta*. Should he find it necessary to enter this lake or this river again, he must first hahlela djieta, i. e. cancel his oath by a sacramental act. This is not necessarily a prayer to his gods, but only an invocation addressed to the imprecation itself: "You djieta, I said I would enter this lake no more, but I want to *tjeba* (p. 86) and to eat fish! Don't cause me to suffer for it." Then he takes some water in his hands, and throws it into the pool.

578 grains are brought to the altar and thrown on to it and the brothers
782 who wish to be reconciled recount their grievances. The offering,
593 though called beer of noise, is not really beer at all, (the cereals offered are not ground nor cooked). However, as my informant said, it is truly beer, as these raw cereals *represent* beer. Natives do not think that they have said anything contradictory in expressing themselves in this way! Notice the fact that these cereals are collected from all the granaries (Tembe). In the same manner the members of the whole family must be reconciled.

782 The same offering is resorted to in *cases of protracted births*
846 (I. p. 40) when it is known that the woman in labour lived on bad
578 terms with another woman. The latter will be called ; she will take a little water in her mouth and spit it out against the hypogastrium of the other, saying *phaa* with the following words : "The angry words which we have spoken must come to an end. May you find help. (Lepsi hi nga bulabula psi fanele ku hela, u pfuneka)". This prayer will not be accompanied by an invocation of the ancestor-gods of either of these women. A similar ceremony is performed when the bones have revealed that delay in parturition or in the child's taking the maternal breast is due to the *bitterness* of its parents in their previous relations. The diviner will tell the father "Hahlela shibiti, make an offering on account of bitterness." This will be performed in the hut. The father will come, and without putting anything into his mouth he will say *tsu* and add the following words : "Let her give birth to the child! What I had (in my heart) I have left! Let us be united again. (A a beleke! Lepsi ndji nga na psu ndji psi tjikile! Hi tlhangana kambe)." In this case the offering is also called an offering of bitterness, though it is very different from the one previously described under that name.

782 *Offering of "the Big millet" (mabele makuku).* The millet (mabele or ñwahuba) is the smallest of the cereals cultivated by the Thongas ; this offering, however, is called "big" on account of its importance and its character. It is a true *thanksgiving offering*. When the family has special cause for rejoicing, for instance if there has been serious illness and the patient has recovered, all its members are called together for the offering of the "big millet."

a) The Priesthood.

The Thongas have no sacerdotal caste, but, as has already been pointed out, the right of officiating in religious ceremonies is strictly confined to *the eldest brother*. All offerings must be made through him. To supplant him is a great taboo, and would entail the malediction of the gods, and even the death of the offender. There are, however, some minor offerings which anyone is allowed to make to his gods ; for instance, a lover who has been jilted, may, after having consulted the bones, give something to his god in order to obtain his aid in regaining the favour of the girl he loves. But, as a rule, no one must *hahla*, or even *gandjela*, before the death of his parents. If, after their death, their son should happen to dream of them, he must offer worship to the deceased by pouring some ground tobacco on to his wooden pillow, this being the commencement of his religious functions : "he begins to learn to gandjela" (Rangane), and, if he is the eldest, he may in course of time become the priest of the whole family. I heard, however, a man from Tembe assert that he had *hahla* when his father was still living, but in this case he had been designated by the bones. A little child may even perform the office if the bones order it ; his father will then hold him in his arms and pray in his stead. The bones often call on *women* to pronounce the prayer, especially the elder sister ; there is no anti-feminism in Thonga religion. In the *luma* ceremony, however, it must always be a man, the chief himself, who is the principal officiant. The wives of the clansmen naturally cannot take a prominent part in the offerings made for the clan, being themselves members of another clan and having their own ancestor-gods, to

782 793 593 ● [562]

(I. p. 268), offerings being frequently made to the gods of the mother's family through the agency of the maternal uncle. Hence the fact that uterine nephews take such a peculiar part in the ritual of the worship. 782 604

I must add that according to information just received from the Rev. A. Jaques, in the Northern clans uterine nephews do not steal the portion of the offerings put apart for the ancestor-gods. It seems that this custom, which I believe to be ancient, is met with essentially amongst the Ronga clans, where the special term *mupsyana* (an old Bantu word corresponding to *um-tshana* in Xosa and *mochana* in Sutho) has also been preserved to designate the uterine nephew, whilst it has fallen into disuse in the Northern clans. (Compare I. p. 162, 232, 498.)

782 whom they sometimes pray in the hut (See App. IV). Amongst
593 Thongas the wife does not adopt the gods of her husband's
793 family (1).

The beginnings of the *constitution of a sacerdotal caste* may be seen in the fact that in each clan, the mhamba, the sacred object used by the royal family to invoke its gods, or the drug on which national invulnerability depends, is entrusted to the care of a certain man, whose office is hereditary. As soon as the political tie becomes stronger, and the power of the paramount chief greater, the religious acts which are performed at the capital gain in importance, and the person who officiates becomes a kind of high priest. Should this evolution continue, it is easy to see how a sacerdotal class may be formed at the expense of the primitive family worship, which thus increasingly loses its importance. Amongst the Thongas this has not yet taken place, and their religious system seems to correspond to a very ancient state of things ; it is in all probability the pure form of primitive Ancestrolatry.

b) The Thonga Conception of the Offerings.

782 With the help of new information obtained since writing the
778 first edition of this book, I think it now possible to attain to a fuller
789 understanding of the meaning of this great Thonga word *mhamba* which I have translated either by offering or by sacrifice, in connection with the killing of a victim. Under this designation come objects of two distinct categories : articles of food, clothing, etc. which are of immediate service to human existence and which are *given* to the ancestor-gods, and magic or magico-religious objects which are not given but only employed in the act of worship. The aim is the same, whatever may be the nature of the object, viz. to obtain the favour and help of the ancestor-gods, but in the first case the officiant adresses himself to living, conscious

(1) There seems to be a profound difference between Thongas and Suthos on this point. The Rev. P. Ramseyer assured me on very good evidence that in Basutoland "a wife takes the family name (seboko) of her husband and abandons her *mtdimo*." The midimo, says my informant, are not only the *badimo* proper, i. e. the ancestor-gods, but all the supernatural powers in which a given clan trusts, the totem, the spirit (moea) of hail, of rain, of lightning, of disease. A Sutho woman can become a Tebele by marriage, though this seldom actually happens.